This Is Not Enough

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HARIJAN

(FOUNDED BY MAHATMA GANDHI)
Editor: MAGANBHAI P. DESAI

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SIR W. W. HUNTER'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

[The following is from Gandhiji's archives. It is a letter from Sir W. W. Hunter to Gandhiji. Sir William Hunter, as is known to readers of Gandhiji, was described by him as follows:

"If there was any one who had realized the importance of the Indian question in South Africa before the Indians themselves and accorded them valuable support, it was Sir William Wilson Hunter. He was editor of the Indian section of the *Times*, wherein he discussed our question in its true perspective, ever since we first addressed him in connection with it. He wrote personal letters to several gentlemen in support of our cause. He used to write to us almost every week when some important question was on the anvil. This is the purport of his very first letter: 'I am sorry to read of the situation there. You have been conducting your struggle courteously, peacefully and without exaggeration. My sympathies are entirely with you on this question. I will do my best publicly as well as in private to see that justice is done to you. I am certain that we cannot yield even an inch of ground in this matter. Your demand being so reasonable, no impartial person would even suggest that you should moderate it.' He reproduced the letter almost word for word in the first article he wrote for the *Times* on the question. His attitude remained the same throughout, and Lady Hunter wrote in the course of a letter that shortly before his death he had prepared an outline of a series of articles which he had planned on the Indian question." *

Sir William's references to English opinion and its prejudices against the Indian National Congress Party in the letter are noteworthy from the historical point of view as also the thesis he makes in his letter, viz., the status of a British subject is more important in the eyes of the British people, than that of being an Indian. The letter is reproduced below. — M. P.]

Oaken Holt,
Near Oxford,
13th May, 1896

Dear Sir,

I duly received your telegram of the 7th May, and have taken such action as is possible in absence of information regarding the Franchise Bill† complained of. On receipt of the Memorial ‡ I shall carefully consider what future steps are practicable.

I had a long interview with the Secretray of State for India a fortnight ago on the grievances of British Indian subjects in South Africa. He was much interested, and I laid before him an exact account of their *status* in the Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State. He expressed his sympathy, but mentioned the difficulty of adding further elements of disturbance at the present moment to our complications in South Africa.

I have great hope that justice will in the end be done. But it will, I fear, be done somewhat slowly. You have a good cause; but it has unfortunately got mixed up in English opinion with the monotone of complaint made by the Indian Congress Party. I myself sympathize with much in the Congress Movement. Yet I cannot help thinking that any really good cause, like that of the British Indian subjects in South Africa, suffers in England from being too prominently connected with the Congress platform.

You have only to take up your position strongly in order to be successful. That position is that the British Indian subjects in South Africa are, alike in our own Colonies and in independent friendly States, being deprived of their *status* as British subjects guaranteed to them by the Sovereign and the British Parliament.

Please address letters or telegrams to me at Oxford as your telegrams are re-directed and involve some needless charges.

Wishing you all success in your public-spirited labours,

I am,
faithfully yours,
W. W. Hunter

M. K. Gandhi, Esq.

* *Satyagraha in South Africa*, p. 66, Revised Second Edition, 1950. Price Rs. 4-0-0, postage etc. Re. 1-2-0.

† The Franchise (Amendment) Bill is the one, introduced in the Legislative Assembly of Natal in the year 1896 to disfranchise Indians. *Ed.*

‡ The memorial dated 22-5-1896 was presented by the Indian Community in Natal to Rt. Hon'ble Joseph Chamberlain, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, London, requesting him to institute an enquiry before assenting to the Franchise Amendment Bill. *Ed.*

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VINOBA IN SANTHAL PARGANAS — III

(*By "Dadu"*)

"The problem of education in India is very baffling. There seems to be no way out." So said a public worker to Vinoba whom he accompanied in his morning walk one day.

"But it is not so baffling. We can easily solve it," remarked Vinoba.

"I can't follow what you say. Crores of rupees are required to tackle this problem."

"The difficulty is that you people think only in terms of money."

"Then what is the way out?"

"Why can't the educated take up this work?"

"They are hardly 16 per cent or six crores."

"That is no small number. Out of the six crore literates, three crores may be taken to be good literates. At any rate, one crore would be well educated."

"Of course not less than one crore."

"Then can't one man spend one hour every day in teaching others. Knowledge grows by teaching. So I would suggest every man to teach 36 persons in one year, or in two or at the most in three. Thus everybody in India would learn reading and writing in three years."

Our friend was taken by surprise. He exclaimed, "That seems so simple and so easy."

"Yet you do not take to it. Your every scheme involves an expenditure of crores and crores of rupees."

"It can't be helped in a welfare State."

"So you want to control every sphere of life," pointed out Vinoba.

"Yes, that is the idea."

"This is horrible. Suppose from today onwards people abandon cleaning their teeth. Then the State would start workshops for the same. If it took 15 minutes to clean one man's teeth, then one worker would be able to dispose of 32 persons in a day. Which means an expenditure of at least one rupee for 32 persons. Then for 36 crores, it amounts to at least one crore rupees a day, *i.e.* about four hundred crore rupees in a year! It would become a problem for the Planning Commission to obtain such a big sum. But this work goes on in every house. In the beginning the mother herself cleans the teeth of the baby who later does it of its own accord and not a pice is spent."

We all burst into laughter at it. Our friend could not suppress his. Then Vinoba added, "This is the point whereat the current economics is held up. They do not know that there is something like self-employment. It would make a world of difference if people become their own employers. What I mean to say is that if every literate man gives an hour a day, the whole country would become literate without any cost. So also I want the land problem to be solved by the people themselves."

In such a telling manner Vinoba brings home the secret of popular economics. He was at Shahargaon in Santhal Parganas on Sunday, 5th December. In his post-prayer speech he placed six items of work before them: (i) recalling God's name, (ii) abstaining from drinking, (iii) cultivation and agriculture, (iv) living with love as a family, (v) running their own industries to convert raw material into finished goods, and (vi) solving their disputes in the village itself.

He also impressed upon them the necessity of learning Hindi besides their own Santhali language. "You must know," said he, "Hindi as well. We have two eyes. Santhalis' one eye would be Santhali and the other Hindi. Likewise, Bengalis' one eye would be Bengali and the other Hindi. Then we would be able to make use of our both eyes. We would be able to go everywhere in the country and would always feel at home."

As Vinoba reached Maheshpur Raj next day, the local school boys welcomed him with the famous Bhoodan song, "जमीन दो, जमीन दो!" by Bihar's well-known poet, **Shri Dinakar.** One of the lines was:

'जमीन दो कि दानसे किरपानको लजा सकें।'

(Give land so that the sword may be humbled by the *dan*.) Vinoba asked one boy to explain the meaning of this line. The boy did fairly well. This gladdened Vinoba's heart and he remarked, "There is an English proverb: 'Straw shows the wind.' This boy's answer to my query indicates the atmosphere of the village. The Bhoodan message has been understood here very well. I have much hopes from this village."

Addressing the gathering assembled for the evening prayer Vinoba observed, "Bhoodan does not culminate with providing relief to the poor. Its object is to humble down the sword. The poor are helped even under the shield of the sword. Hundreds and thousands are wounded on the one hand and brigades go for their aid on the other. This does not humble the sword. It would be humbled only when we bring about a peaceful revolution in the country for which has been given the call of Jivandan. If we establish a society where there is no exploitation, no quarrels and all live with love, where love is not measured in terms of money, where one can have his food in every home and everybody can take his services, then only would the sword be rendered worthless. The sword will feel ashamed. Then Bhoodanwallah will have compassion on the sword, send it to the Tatas for turning it into plough-share. Formerly it cut the head, now it would till land. These days sword rules the world with compassion as its maid-servant. But Bhoodan will accomplish the kingdom of compassion and sword will be its handmaid. For this we need not cut the head from without, only change it from within."

He went on, "It is regarded that vakil, judge and police etc., work to obliterate crime and robbery. But they are all of the same fraternity as thieves and robbers. They punish the innocent while feed the culprit. The man sent to jail is given food regularly three times a day. Even a rich man has to wait for his food when his wife says, 'Not yet ready.' But not so in the jail. You get food at the stroke of the bell. Thus the culprit is given food three times a day and complete rest for thirteen hours. Then, who is punished? The sword has no brain. Thus in the realm of the sword the culprit is not punished but given comfort. Whence I say that those who sit in judgement are as guilty as the culprit. The thief works hard, takes so many risks. Only he does not do productive labour. The same is true about the judge who draws a thousand rupees and more. The indolent gets a job in the kingdom of the sword. We have to change it and bring in compassion, sympathy and love indeed." He concluded, "In the new society which we visualize, everybody would have sickle, spade or charkha in one hand and the other would be open for giving *dan*. Appetite in the stomach, sympathy in the heart and peace in the head. All this has to be done by means of Bhoodan Yajna."

Redipur was the next halt. When workers met Vinoba, he said that real force lay in right thought. The moment it captured the mind it produced unforeseen results. But those who ignored the current thought were likely to be washed off. He dealt with it at length in his evening discourse. "The *zamana* (age) has gone ahead, while we remain as of old. What would be the fate of an old man sticking to his infant habits? One must, therefore, adjust with the march of time. In these days of science one cannot afford to have a small heart. Let us have a large heart, and widen the circle of our love and sacrifice." Vinoba further observed, "My experience is that God has given us far greater returns in this Bhoodan Yajna than the amount of work we put in. This is the nature of God who always returns a hundredfold. You know that for every seed the Kisan or farmer sows God gives a hundred in return. The Quran says that God punishes us for sins in exact proportion but gives us bounteously for good actions. This is also the experience of saints. Ramachandra had to roam about in the forest for fourteen years. But I have been walking only for three and half years. This work enthuses and inspires me more day after day." Dada

Dharmadhikari, Bahen Vimala Thakar and Shri Ram Mhaskar joined us today.

Halting at Pakuria on the 8th Vinoba reached Sarasdangal on Thursday. After the prayer there was a Santhali song. Then followed Vinoba's address. Expressing his appreciation of the song he said, "This was a very fine song. As the Santhalis have a warm contact with nature their voice is sweet and touching. On the other hand, the city people, having lost all contact with nature, have a hoarse voice and they, therefore, do 'Bho....Bho....' in order to hide their real voice. I am sure that this 'Bho....Bho....' would not catch the Adivasis who sing in groups. I want Samoohik (group) songs to become popular. *Vrinda Sangeet* as founded by Bhagavan Krishna, should be spread far and wide." He appealed them to set up their own village industries and avoid drinking altogether. He also expressed his happiness at the fact that there was no *purdah* among the Santhalis. "I very much like," said he, "your sitting together. My special emphasis is on female education. There must be schools for them in every village. I worry little if there is no arrangement for male education, but there must be a good one for the women."

Then followed Dada Dharmadhikari's interesting discourse, in which he explained that Bhoodan was not so much a movement as an *arohan* (ascent).

Vinoba was at Shikaripara on Friday. On the way a worker regretted the fact that 30 lacs of people died of starvation in Bengal but they did not even lift their little finger. Vinoba said: "I myself was in Vellore jail at that time. Frequently they all talked on this point. Some of them called them cowards, worse than rats. But I differed and held that their quiet death showed India's culture and character, her *khandani*."

In his post-prayer address Vinoba pointed out that the establishment of the British rule in India was followed by *dharma-sanshodhan* (reform in religion). "Our great men did not think of acquiring arms or weapons. They devoted themselves to spiritual and social amelioration. And Swaraj was the result. When the history of Swaraj comes to be written, its first chapter would consist of the religious reform undertaken by our leaders. I believe that the battle for freedom was started by Ram Mohan Rai. He and others felt that British rule could not overpower us if there had been nothing wrong with us. So they struck at the root and began with religion. This is why that even a foreign-dominated India produced so many great souls and saints. Perhaps this led a Chinese writer to call India a 'God-intoxicated land'. Our *atma-sanshodhan* resulted in freedom, even though we had no arms."

He continued, "Economic freedom must follow political freedom. Our strength lies in villages. But they are not conscious of it. Bhoodan seeks to revitalize them and increase their strength. Hence my appeal for land-gifts from one and all. I want you to widen your circle of love and sacrifice. Once the people grasp this fact, there is no need to wait till 1957." Dada Dharmadhikari also addressed the meeting.

Gando was the last halt of the week. Addressing the prayer-meeting, Vinoba said, "The ardour for public work is hardly visible these days. It appears as if Government alone can do any public service, and that the people have got to do nothing. This is a very tragic state of affairs. Verily, I want to strike at it. This must go and people must come to feel that a vast field of public service through *loka shakti* (people's strength) lies open before them. Today all are mad after power. There are two types of power: (i) of the servants, (ii) of the *bhaktas*. The servants only try to flatter the masters. They can never elevate them up. Those who go in for democracy these days can render some service. But the defect therein is that they consider themselves to be masters. And the people also think likewise. The result is that they are not able to discharge even the responsibilities of the servants. They neither flatter nor suppress. But the service rendered by the *bhaktas* is of a different variety. The service rendered through selfless sacrifice is par excellence."

He continued, "These days I am touring the Santhali area. I have also begun learning the Santhali language. This is giving me an opportunity to come near them. They have the word *Chand* for God. This is also their word for the sun and the moon. They call sun as the *Chand* of the day and moon as the *Chand* of the night. And God is also *Chand*. Perhaps the origin lies in the fact that they work hard in the day and dance and sing and sleep at night under the open sky in the moonlight. The moon gives them rest and peace. This shows that a deep feeling of unity underlies them. They are certainly wiser than us. I do not know any other language in which sun and the moon are represented by the same word. They see the same God in both the sun and the moon." Next Vinoba appealed to the Santhalis, "I want you to grow into one family. Let you have co-operative farming, co-operative shops and co-operative village industries. Further, let all the land in your village belong to the village. No individual ownership of land. Should you do this you will serve as an example to other people in India."

Concluding Vinoba referred to the unostentatious work of Shri Motilal Kojariwal, the Convener of the District Bhoodan Committee. He said "Gentle souls like Motibabu are there in your midst. You must take full advantage of him. I hope that working under his guidance, you will be able to produce more *motis* (pearls) in this district."

17-1-'55

A Gratuitous Instruction

I learn from a friend that the Inspectors of Schools have circularized heads of Secondary Schools on the subject of teaching of English in Standards V, VI and VII in Secondary Schools. A Circular that the friend showed to me says:

> "Under instructions from the D. E., Poona, conveyed as per his No. S. 68-269-C, of 19-11-'54, you are hereby informed that it will be not permissible to teach English even as an optional subject in standards V to VII in addition to the subjects already prescribed in the syllabus, within the school hours, in a school teaching in a medium other than English. There is, however, no objection to teaching English as an optional subject to those who desire in standards V to VII outside the school hours; but it may please be noted that expenditure if any incurred for teaching English in standards V to VII outside school hours as mentioned above, will not be admitted for grant."

One wonders what might have occasioned such a gratuitous instruction on the subject of teaching of English, where it is not intended to be done. Does it show ultra-solicitousness on the part of the Government regarding the teaching of English? It would have been better if this had been directed towards the teaching of new nation-building subjects like Hindi, handicraft etc.

However, there is another point from which the above instructions are, to say the least, out of place and confusing. As a general rule, the study of English has been ordained to begin from standard VIII. It is aimed to revise the curriculum for English at the S.S.C. examination accordingly, though unfortunately this has not been still done. In view of the instructions given above, it is difficult to understand how those boys who may desire to study English outside the school hours will fit in with others who may begin at the 8th Standard where it is proposed to formally begin it.

19-1-'55 M. P.

HARIJAN

Feb. 5 1955

THIS IS NOT ENOUGH

(By Maganbhai P. Desai)

The Avadi Congress has passed the following resolution :

> "In order to realize the object of the Congress as laid down in Article I of the Congress Constitution and to further the objectives stated in the Preamble and Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India, planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up, and there is equitable distribution of national wealth."

We have been discussing this new development and the shift it marks in the policy of the Congress followed hitherto, in the past two or three issues of this paper. Having now seen the resolution as it has been passed by the Avadi session, it does not appear that there is any need for the modification of our views expressed therein. On the contrary it confirms the fear expressed in these columns that a change of this nature is likely to create confusion and even obscurity in regard to what the Congress really wishes to do. The debate on this resolution at Avadi points to the same conclusion, which is again testified by comments in the Press on this subject. *The Hindu* of Madras, for example, in its 21-1-'55 issue, sounds the following warning at the end of its long and thoughtful editorial : 'Congressmen have an obligation to see that Avadi has not merely added one more misleading slogan to confuse the people.'

But we need not quarrel over words. We are concerned with work and what is pertinent is to see whether, in the present conditions in the country, this resolution will help fulfil that work, and if yea, then how and to what extent.

The resolution refers in its preamble to the object of the Congress as laid down in its Constitution, as also to the objectives stated in the Preamble and the Directive Principles of State Policy in Part IV of the Constitution of India. And it avers to further those Objectives.

The object of the Congress as laid down in Article 1 is the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth.

And the Indian Constitution speaks of constituting India into a Democratic Republic. It also sets forth in Part IV the Directive Principles of State Policy in order to achieve that ideal.

It is clear that both these ideals are much wider and more comprehensive than what is implied by 'the socialistic pattern of society'. These two have already laid down in broad terms, we might say, the kind of society we aim at. The question is what path shall we take to achieve it. It is here that deviations or differences may arise. The above resolution of the Avadi Congress seeks to clarify the position in regard to the path to be taken. Let us analyse what it says on this question.

The resolution specifies the following few things —

1. There must be planning to reach the goal.
2. This planning should be so conceived as to usher in a socialistic pattern of society.
3. The socialistic pattern of society envisaged here will have the following features —
   (a) the principal means of production should be under social ownership or control;
   (b) production should be progressively speeded up ; and
   (c) there should be equitable distribution of national wealth.

In the Directive Principles of State Policy the Constitution of India has itself indicated the path to be pursued in order to reach the goal laid down in it. Does this resolution add anything to it or modify it in any respect ?

In the same way, the Congress has also specified its path — the path of what is commonly called the constructive programme to reach the goal laid down in Article 1 of its Constitution. Does the resolution under consideration make any addition or modification in it ?

What do we find by scrutinizing the Avadi Congress resolution in the light of these two considerations ? It is clear that it now brings forward a totally new formula, namely, the social ownership or control of the means of production, which is the distinctive feature of doctrinaire Socialism. That production should be speeded up and the wealth so produced should be equitably distributed are not new things. What is new is that the means of production should be under social or Government ownership and control. This, therefore, might be taken to be the special feature of this resolution or its justification at the present time.

We know that planning is a job for Government. The Congress being in power, the Congress Government has been doing it ; and the Parliament has resolved now that it should take place with a view to the establishment of a 'socialistic pattern of society.' The Government is therefore committed to it. The Avadi Congress has set its seal of approval on it. Obviously, this is the plain meaning of the resolution.

But this is not enough ; it does not by any means complete the work of the Congress. As said in an earlier article, the Congress is bigger than its Government. It is a people's organization working or desiring to work among the people.

Not only that. If it means to guide the Governments it has formed, — which it is duty-bound to do, — then its vision must not remain confined within the limits which Governments,

circumscribed as they are, may have to accept. It should be much greater and go much farther than that.

The Congress has hitherto derived its power mainly from the villages of India. To eradicate the unemployment, the poverty and sense of dispair which has continued to blight our village life has been its first and most important object. And it must continue to receive its first attention even from the exclusively economic point of view of the desirability of increasing the national wealth and bringing about its equitable distribution. The Constitution of India is equally insistent on this point when it says that the State must ensure work and employment to the people so as to enable them to attain a reasonably human standard of living. It has to be confessed that the above resolution suffers from a grave defect in that it fails to mention the need for full employment and the eradication of unemployment. Even the socialistic philosophy would say that this constitutes our first task. It would have been better to declare so by a formal statement in this resolution. However, let us hope the resolution would be construed to include the objective of full employment and the eradication of unemployment through village industries as the most effective means of increasing the production and the planning made on that basis.

28-1-'55

(From the original in Gujarati)

PLANNING FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

(*By V. L. Mehta*)

The concept of planning has so captured the imagination of our people, that, especially since the advent of independence, no serious discussions on political or economic subjects nowadays take place without a reference to the need for planning our economic life. This interest in planning is not altogether new-born. Mahatma Gandhi's eleven points may be taken as the basis of the demand for a considered approach to the solution of national problems which subsequently got embodied in the famous Karachi Congress Resolution of 1931. For the first time in our political history, an attempt was made to define our social policy.

When the next stage was reached in the political struggle, and the Congress participated in and won elections, came the opportunity for giving concrete shape to the principles that had been enunciated. This led to the appointment of the National Planning Committee in 1938 under the Chairmanship of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. At an early stage, this Committee defined the objectives of national planning in the following comprehensive terms: "to improve the well-being of the community, principally by intensifying the economic development of the community concerned on an all-round basis; in an ordered, systematic manner, so as to observe a due proportion between the various forms of producing new wealth, its equitable distribution among the members of the community and to secure such adjustment between the interests of producers and consumers, individuals and the community collectively, the present and succeeding generations as to maintain a proper balance between these various interests".

We may skip over the intervening period which ended in the termination of foreign domination and the complete transfer of power to the people of the country. The Constitution of India that was adopted in the name of the people defined the fundamental rights and formulated certain directives of social policy. Having regard to these rights and in furtherance of the principles, the Government of India constituted the Planning Commission in March 1950 with the object of drawing up plans for promoting "a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by efficient exploitation of the resources of the country, increasing production and offering opportunities to all for employment in the service of the community".

The formulation of the Plan and the events that preceded and succeeded its publication are, again, events of recent history on which it is not proposed to dwell here. The plan has now been in operation for over three years and a half, and the first five-year period will terminate in less than a year and a half. On various occasions, the progress of the Plan has been reviewed in official publications and has formed the subject of discussion in Parliament and in State Legislatures. The main advantage of such reviews is the guidance that they afford for our future course of action. It is obvious that planning does not end with the expiry of the five-year period. That represented the first stage of planning. The first Five Year Plan has to be succeeded by at least two or three similar plans before we can attain the goal that the nation has set before itself.

It is clear then that it is not too early now to think in terms of the second Five Year Plan. The Planning Commission, no doubt, has reconnoitred the ground preliminarily, and it is presumably engaged in estimating requirements and assessing resources. Very appropriately, both the Commission and Government have declared explicitly that the Plan has now to be drawn up from below. That makes for a difference in the approach. The first Plan represented, to a certain extent, the schemes of development and reconstruction already in progress in most States and at the Centre, embarked upon with the setting up of representative Governments alive to their responsibilities to the people. But it is only the co-ordination and occasionally extension that the Planning Commission introduced which imparted a social purpose to the plan.

There is a danger that if the next Plan stands for building from below it may also suffer from the same defect, namely, the lack of a definite social purpose animating it. Proposals will be put forward by districts and subsequently by States which though acceptable in themselves do not constitute a coherent pattern. They may not be inspired by a set of well-defined principles. A plan so constructed may be capable of being worked out, it may even be fitted into a well-phased programme. It cannot, however, constitute social planning. The first desideratum today, therefore, is to enunciate those principles which must inform the entire plan, lest the national effort that goes towards the execution of the plan, fail in its purpose.

The ground has been cleared, to a considerable extent, by the debate that took place recently in Parliament on the subject of the economic situation in the country. The aim that must govern all national effort, it has been recognized, is full employment, greater production and better distribution. In securing that aim we have to proceed along democratic lines, through the pursuit of methods that are consistent with the safeguarding of our fundamental rights. It is only then that we shall be in a position to replace the present social order by a casteless, classless, socialist society, the establishment of which becomes, Parliament has declared, our main task.

This declaration has far-reaching implications which cannot be lost sight of in the actual process of planning our programme of economic development. In the first place, it has to be recognized that production *per se* is not an end. Increase of production has necessarily to be planned for in a manner which is in harmony with the second object of increasing the volume of employment and which can be achieved without detriment to the third object of securing better distribution. In the debate in Parliament, the aspect that first claimed attention was that of unemployment. As it is full employment that planning

has to provide for, in any consideration of this subject what we have to take into account is not the numbers who are wholly unemployed but the still larger numbers who are only partially employed, employed casually, intermittently, occasionally, for parts of the day or in certain parts of the year.

In his *Planned Economy for India* published in 1934, Shri M. Visvesvaraya mentioned 4 to 5 crores as the number of persons who were unemployed and 15 lakhs as the number of the educated unemployed. At that time, there were hardly any reliable figures available on the basis of which an accurate estimate could be made. With the aid of the statistics now available in the Census of 1951 and other investigations and surveys it is possible to frame some approximate estimate of those who are without employment. However, it is, still, a little difficult to assess the volume of under-employment, disguised or open, that prevails both in rural and in urban areas, in agriculture and in small scale enterprises.

In the course of his recent speech in Parliament, Shri C. D. Deshmukh gave no exact estimates either of the unemployed or the under-employed, but dealt mainly with the numbers for whom employment had to be found during the period of the next Five Year Plan. Taking the working force as 15 crores, he assumed that roughly the proportion of those who were not in employment and for whom employment had to be found as 10 per cent. Thus nearly a crore and a half of people were available for absorption in new lines. Provision had also to be made for the 18 lakhs of persons, who according to present calculations would be added annually to the employable population. Over a ten-year period work would have to be found, according to Shri Deshmukh, for 2.4 crores of persons, and in the second five-year period for 1.2 crores.

These are by themselves stupendous figures. The annual increase in employment to be provided for would be 24 lakhs which is nearly as much as the total number of empolyees in all the factory industries put together. But there is an element of underestimating involved in these calculations. To the increase of 90 lakhs in the class of employables occurring through the normal growth of population in five years has to be added half the number of those for whom jobs have to be found in urban occupations, that is 75 lakhs. So, for the first five-year period, additional non-agricultural employment has to be found not for 1.2 crore persons but for 1.65 crore persons or 33 lakhs per year. Besides, these figures take no account of the unemployment and under-employment that prevail in the field of agriculture.

In the memorandum that the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board submitted for consideration to the All-India Conference of State Boards and Constructive Workers, the number of persons who were unemployed was shown, according to calculations, to be 12 crores. According to the National Income Committee the working force as obtained from the Census is 14.32 crores. The remainder of the population, namely, *21.34* crores represents the non-earning dependents of all ages among the agricultural and non-agricultural classes. Assuming 30 per cent of these to be employable, we get the figure of 6.4 crores as the persons for whom employment has to be found. This will be exclusive altogether of the additional numbers, 18 lakhs in round figures, who will knock at our doors for employment every year.

An estimate of the capital resources required for providing work for these large numbers was given by Shri Deshmukh in his speech, which shows that the outlay involved would be immense, compared to the resources the country has at its disposal. What the magnitude of the expansion of industries of the organized large scale variety could be, may be left for conjecture as also the form of production the output of which could find markets within or without the country. But an examination of the figures — the numbers to be put to work and the capital resources required — makes it clear that along the lines of this form of industrialization does not lie any solution of the problems of full employment. In fact, if there is any increase in the production of consumers goods which are at present being turned out by cottage including village industries or which were or can be manufactured then the result will be the reverse of what is intended. Instead of finding new jobs for people either large numbers will be displaced from their present jobs or the possibility of securing increased employment through the expansion of these industries will vanish for ever.

It is for this reason that during the past ten to fifteen years demands have been voiced for the placing of restrictions on the operations of large-scale organized industries which impinge upon the smooth working of cottage industries, from the broad standpoint of national economy. The Rural and Cottage Industries Committee of the National Planning Committee first put forward this point of view in general terms. The Fact Finding Committee (Handloom and Mills) urged the reservation of certain lines of production for the handloom industry. Later, came a similar demand by the Economic Committee of the Congress. The principle has, subsequently, been accepted by the Government of India, first, in relation to the handloom weaving industry. Restrictions have been placed on the production of certain types of textile goods by textile mills and a wider field has been opened out for the cottage industry. For the benefit of the cottage handloom and handspinning industry a cess has been imposed on the products of the large-scale organized textile industry. There is differentiation already in operation in the matter of the central excise duties on the match industry, the soap industry, the boots and shoes industry, the differentiation being either to grant a rebate to the small-sized units, or to exempt them from duty or to reduce in their favour the scale of duty. While for certain forms of production such as rice shelling mills, there may have to be a complete ban, for some, the policy may be to disallow expansion, and for others the delimitation of spheres of production. Where price differentials are small or for securing resources as the Planning Commission visualized, there would be justification for the imposition of a cess on an organized large-scale industry in the interest of the corresponding cottage or village industry.

The purpose of such regulatory action is to afford protection to that sector of our economy, consisting of self-employed persons, which even in the field of industries contributes considerably, in the aggregate, to the national income. The individual contribution undoubtedly is small, because there is a vast volume of under-employment, no work for days and months and not enough work even for a full day. Besides, the individual self-employed person suffers most from the impact of machine-made goods on his production; the force of competition is reflected directly in the lowering of his earnings. Lastly, the resources of the isolated individuals, small as they are, get depleted under the stress of competition. Hence, it is from exploitation in all forms that the self-employed industrial worker has to be saved, it is his productive capacity that has to be stimulated if we are to check the growth of unemployment and devise or adopt a form of productive endeavour which ensures, simultaneously, increase both of employment and production.

In public discussions on production it is often assumed that it is non-acceptance of technological advance that keeps the scale of production in cottage industries static. It is not the limitations of manual power or the capacity of animals to bear burdens that ordinarily set a limit to any increase in productivity. Often it is lack of resources in the shape of easy access to raw material or for employing new or improved tools and implements that keeps down not only the quantum of production but its pace. The incentive for progress also is absent in the face of powerful competition — the struggle between the dwarf and the giant; and besides, the slender resources of most individuals and the meagre facilities for credit that they

can enjoy, make it impossible for them, even if they wish to do so, to adopt new techniques. The counterpart of the policy of regulation and protection is hence the pursuit of an active programme of providing organizational, technical and financial aids.

Such aids can be most suitably provided through the organization of the self-employed artisans, handi-craftsmen and other manual workers in co-operative societies. It is not enough if production is increased and alongside of it employment expands. The economic pattern of the future, it is postulated, should be such as does not give rise to exploitation. On the contrary, it should carry us along the road to a classless society. The co-operative form of organization with its democratic structure can ensure, in the first place, that the economic activity is carried under the control of the participants and for their common interest. The replacement of the motive of profit by the motive of service brings the economic enterprise in harmony with the interests of the community in general. But for the resourceless individuals who constitute, or will do so in future, the membership of the societies, to progress towards self-sufficiency without external help in the initial stages will be a superhuman task. Self-help has thus to be rendered effective through State aid.

Lastly, a word about technological progress and the use of mechanical power. The use of electricity has often been advocated as the principal means for the development of cottage industries. Supply of electricity we shall have in abundant measure, and it may be that power will be available on terms which compare favourably with the rates charged for existing supplies in rural areas. Even if that is the case, the use of electricity will be mostly beyond the capacity of the average worker in cottage industries by reason both of the initial outlay involved on equipment and the price paid for the supply. Besides, the question of the extension of the use of electricity for cottage workers has to be judged by the application of two crucial tests. Will the extension of electricity give greater scope for the exploitation of a man's labour by another man than is possible under the present condition ? If the answer is in the affirmative, it would be anti-social to encourage the introduction of electricity. The second — and even a most important — consideration is, will this displace labour or may it have the effect of promoting increased employment by utilization of resources untapped with human effort ? If the use of electricity aids in providing additional healthy employment it may well be welcome. But if it is likely to result in displacing labour, now engaged in cottage industries, certainly it can claim no encouragement under the new order of things. Freedom from exploitation and growth of employment must rank higher in terms of social values than mere increase of productivity.

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THE STATE ACCORDING TO GANDHIJI

(*By Dr. Shrikrishna Sinha*)

[In the last issue we saw " the main principles behind the State of Gandhi's Conception ". Read the following further now :]

What a noble conception of man we find here. Is this not something an urge for which is to be found throughout man's history of a few thousand years. Our Vedantis dreamt a dream of a man who was but a reflection of the Absolute. The Greeks dreamt that man is rational and, therefore, free. Then came the prophet of Nazareth whose religion pointed to a great objective reality beyond and linked man to it. Man became an agent in the great drama which God plays through history. Renaissance came, snapped as under this link but still allowed man to remain the centre of scheme of things. Then came the great but lopsided advancing tide of knowledge which did not advance man but put gigantic power in his hands. The result has been according to some the total annihilation of man. There has sprung up a tradition that man is irrational and he is simply a creature of the society. Knowledge and habits are all sociological. In such a philosophy man as man has got himself lost. But there is still that Great Tradition amongst us which regards man as a sentient being with creative qualities. Gandhi's philosophy of man is flowering in full grandeur of this great heritage of man from the past. This tradition has got smothered resulting in great human misery. Now there is an urge for combativeness being replaced by co-operation, suspicion and hate being replaced by understanding and love. There is an urge that man is to be relieved from the terrible grip of the new Leviathan and restored to his former position of dignity which the great heritage of man assigns him.

Thus if the world is in need of a new faith and a new order, here is the new faith and the new order that Gandhiji offers to the world. Mahatmaji has given us a political ideology. He was too much of a practical man to believe that it could be at once translated into practice. He was never tired of repeating that he was putting an ideal before the people to reach which painful and persistent effort will have to be made. If you feel with me that the world is in need of such a faith it should be your endeavour to examine scientifically, of course, and find out if it could be put into practice and to see that it does not share the fate which Utopias have to share, and does not remain simply to remind generations to come that there was a teacher and a sage who saw a great vision but the ungrateful generations did not attempt to act up to it.

I would rather wish you to take it to your laboratory, dissect it to find out how far it is consistent with human experience and how far human nature by institutional devices or otherwise can be made to conform to it. It is only then that Gandhiji's ideas can be saved from being deposited as a mere fossil in the long history of human thought.

When you take Gandhiji's philosophy to your laboratory and begin your dissection and examination the first difficulty that will face you is the radical change introduced by him in the conception of man. He sees in him the spirit divine and makes him the instrument of God's reason and love. This smacks of the Christian philosophy of man which Renaissance succeeded in throwing out. But the cataclysmic events in the world have caused rude awakening and the sense of urgency caused by them in the field of politics have led men to think of breaking some of their pet idols. In no less a place than in the panels of the Research Committee of the American Political Science Association, the question was raised how could natural rights become once again a matter of profound and unshakeable conviction and it was actually posed, " Can a theological basis be found whereby the bulk of mankind can share the conviction that man is endowed by his creator with certain inalienable rights ? " And then the writer continues and says, " Perhaps there

is no more important field for political scientist to explore. And, if one scorns the theological, can science provide an alternative base? What would carry equal appeal?" I can only repeat this and say that you as political scientists have either to accept Gandhiji's conception of man or find an alternative. Man stands debased and insulted. Never was the worth of man so low. World situation demands the restoration of man to his previous position of grandeur. Gandhiji's conception of man is an answer to that great demand of the day. Political scientists have to accept it or find an alternative to lift man again to a position of dignity in society.

I have already said that as political scientists your endeavours should be to find out if Gandhiji's conception of social action can be put into effect. In this endeavour another great difficulty that will face you next will be the nature of man. Underlying any edifice of human relations there is some prominent conception of human nature and the meaning of human existence; and you know Gandhiji's conception of the nature of man which underlies his State and the social systems which he envisages. If there be such a vital relation between human nature and the political and social systems then to know whether Gandhiji's political and scoial systems can be made practical, you will have to study human nature to find out how far we can base on it our hopes of rearing a new society and State.

Gandhiji's man is a man at once creative, rational, moral and loving. So in order that a State or society of his conception may become a reality, we have to find out if man by nature is such or can be made so.

It is now admitted that the study of human nature has a rightful place in the methodology of political science. There is still a great difference amongst thinkers about what human nature is and we cannot be sure of what kind of State will serve one's need and survive unless we have a true insight of human nature. If it be true as some leading psychoanalysts say that "in our unconscious, we are like primitive men, simply a gang of murderers and there is in mankind a permanent capacity for hostility, aggression and cruelty towards his fellow creature", all our hope of giving the world new faith will be vain. All these make it imperative that in the course of our examining the fact whether Gandhi's philosophy of the organization of human affairs can be message of hope to a distracted world, we have to study human nature to find how far his conception of man is based on reality.

I have no hesitation in confessing that sometimes I have myself felt that his teachings are not for us mortal men. How many times we have sat together under the Banyan tree to hear repeated, of course with eyes closed, the beautiful passages of the Gita describing what "Sthitaprajna" is. I still remember how inspiring those occasions were. But no sooner we dispersed we quarrelled over little amenities of life. After the outbreak of the last war there was recrudescence of dacoities on a large scale in our villages. We met in Sadaquat Ashram hallowed by services of Rajendra Babu, to consider how to meet the situation created by those dacoities. We thought of raising a volunteer force and we spent hours in discussing whether these volunteers would go round the villages with lathis, because lathis being a symbol of violence would not easily fit in our ideal of non-violence. Now we are free and this winning of freedom has demonstrated the reality of non-violence as a powerful weapon. But if you have been reading the newspapers of this State you must have found that we are unhesitatingly using these lathis to carry away ballot boxes and in order to maintain peace we have to use the very police which in pursuance of Gandhi's philosophy many would very much like to be replaced by a police trained in the method of non-violently dealing with crime. I mention all these to show how necessary it is for you to make a study of human nature if a State of the vision of Gandhiji is to take shape.

I know to do this you will have to take guidance from psychology. It has been said that the greatest revolution in our day has been the birth of science of psychology and our need to understand man demonstrates the truth of this assertion. There is something incalculable in man and this is why in social sciences we can only know the contingent in human action and not the necessary as in physical sciences which have to deal with things. The concrete complex of human nature is susceptible to analysis and with the help of psychology we can discover a pattern in human nature which may help us to understand human conduct. We expect political science to give us the knowledge of how human behaviour can be controlled and directed and it can succeed in this only if with the help of psychology we can discover what are the basic impulses working in man and how they work. An impulse which works for evil can also be sublimated and máde to become an instrument for good. Instinct of rivalry is bad and is the cause for much conflict among men but it can be perhaps transmuted into emulation which is necessary for the progress of man.

It is said that man is so inert that if left to himself he would not take the trouble of even exercising his mind and think of effecting improvements in life. So emulation is necessary for advancement. With the help of knowledge about human nature a powerful force for evil in man can thus be sublimated into one equally powerful for good. A psychological analysis of the complex pattern of our nature sometimes helps us to know what is already there in our nature which can be harnessed to the great work of giving practical shape to the social organization of Gandhiji's vision and also which of them can be transmitted to serve that purpose.

Human nature is not immutable. It is said that it can change too. Here also there are two extremely opposed views. One holds that human nature is immutable. To this group belong those who are opposed to any change in society. The best answer to any attempt to make change in the existing order of things can be that it is the result of working of the nature of man and it would be futile to make any change as man because of the inertia in his nature will revert to the old order.

Opposed to this the other extreme view is of those who believe that human nature is a mere social construct and a change in institutions can change human nature itself. To this group belong those radicals who want to create men and society after their own ideologies. But the truth seems to be somewhere between these two. Human nature changes though with biological slowness. Man's personality itself is the result of the interaction between the inner man and his surroundings and social action is the result of the interaction between personality and social surroundings. If it be so, you have to make a deep analysis of the institutions of your country to find out what changes can be made in them so that they may be of help in increasing those traits in our nature which may be conducive to the establishment of a Gandhian Society.

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